

THE COMMONWEALTH.

SPEECH

OF

Hon. W. L. UNDERWOOD,
OF KENTUCKY

Against the admission of Kansas as a State under
the Lecompton Constitution. Delivered in the
House of Representatives, March 30th, 1858.

[CONCLUDED.]

In addition to this I present you the authority of Mr. Buchanan the present distinguished Chief Magistrate of the United States, whose early counsels are so worthy of the consideration of his later years, and who, upon the occasion of the admission of Michigan, expressed himself in the following emphatic language:

"We ought not to apply the rigid rules of abstract political science too rigorously to such cases. It has been our practice heretofore to treat our infant Territories with parental care, to nurse them with kindness, and when they had attained the age of manhood, to admit them into the family without requiring from them any right to form. The main question to be decided is: Do they contain a sufficient population? Have they adopted a Republican Constitution? And are they willing to enter the Union upon the terms which we propose? If all these preliminary proceedings have been considered, but more formal, than we have waded in repeated instances. They are but the scaffolding of the building, which is of no further use after the edifice is complete. We have pursued this course in regard to Tennessee, to Arkansas, and even to Missouri. So far as we present, that territorial Legislature had any right whatever to pass laws enabling the people to elect delegates to a convention for the purpose of forming a State Constitution. It was an act of usurpation on their part."

And on the same subject, Mr. Calhoun, the brightest constitutional luminary of all, used the following brief but emphatic words:

"My opinion is, and ever was, that the proceeding of the people of Michigan, in taking the first steps to form a State Constitution without waiting for the assent of Congress, was revolutionary."

If these quotations fail to convince, then, so far as my Democratic auditors extend, they would not be convinced through one rose from the dead. But to obviate these high authorities and these unanswerable arguments, it is now stated that the Kansas Nebraska act is itself an enabling act, dispensing with all others. Unfortunately for those who affirm this, it proves too much for them. That act, it is true, "leaves the people perfectly free to form their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution." Prior to it the people had been restrained in this "perfect freedom" by the provisions of the Missouri compromise line, which prohibited slavery north of 36° 30' north latitude; and this provision was intended merely to apply to the condition and privileges of the people when subsequent to the repeal of this line, they should come legally to form their domestic institutions in their own way, and was not intended to confer upon them any new powers or privileges, contrary to the consent of Congress, whereby they might at pleasure cast off their territorial allegiance. If such be not the true interpretation of this clause—if it conferred upon the people of the Territory the inherent right at any time they pleased to form a Constitution and claim admission absolutely under it, how can we resist the application of those who formed the justly and universally repudiated Topeka Constitution for admission into the Union of these States. Their Constitution is first in point of time, and it will be observed that is not the Legislature of the Territory, but the "people of the Territory," that are left "perfectly free to form their own domestic institutions in their own way;" and hence, upon this hypothesis and language of the law, you need not apply for an enabling act even from the Territorial Legislature, because that language does not confer that power upon the Legislature, but confers it "on the people;" and the high prerogative of making a Constitution is not a legislative function. Besides, if the Kansas-Nebraska act enabled the Legislature of Kansas to call a constitutional convention, why did President Pierce recommend, and why did the Democratic Senate under his Administration, with singular unanimity, pass an act authorizing Kansas to call a convention. Without pursuing this argument further, I conclude, from the high authorities cited and from the reasons already adduced—*ist*. That the Legislature of Kansas was not competent to commit an act of political suicide, and to subvert and overturn the very power of which they were but constituted the keepers, guardians, and preservers, by the Congress of the United States; and *2d*, that the Kansas territorial law was in no sense an act which enabled its Legislature thus to subvert the territorial existence at its pleasure.

It follows, then, that the Lecompton Constitution is not an imperative legality. That it cannot challenge and demand our implicit and unquestioning submission, because it comes accredited to us by all the regularities and forms of law. But losing these high pretensions, which are all the title that it brings, it loses all. For, unless it can be sustained upon the ground of legitimacy, it has no other foundation to sustain it.

Mr. Chairman, let it not be inferred from anything I have said that I hold it illegal or rebellious for a Territorial Legislature to institute preliminary proceedings in order to bring about the transition from a territorial to a State condition. All I wish to establish is that their proceedings bind not the government of the United States, or render it in any sense imperative upon such government to admit such Territory into the Union as a State, merely because the Territorial Legislature have gone regularly through the formalities it may have instituted. The power of the United States, and the duty of the United States, stand untouched and unaffected by these subordinate territorial formalities, except so far as they may address themselves to the Congress of the United States as matter of petition, deserving its favorable consideration from their inherent merit, and not from their inherent legal-ty.

2. If the Lecompton Constitution be legal in form, are there not facts connected with it that render it invalid in fact? Mr. Chairman, this field of my argument has been perfectly exhausted—Let me add but a few words to what has been so much better said by so many others. And let me premise that the Congress of the United States is under no stress, or legal or political necessity, to admit new States into this Confederacy. Neither Kansas, nor any other Territory, can demand as a right admission into this Union; although she may have formed a Republican Constitution, and although every man, woman and child within her borders desired it, yet the right and the power to admit or not to admit, according to its own will and pleasure, rests alone in the Congress of the United States.

This high power and unlimited discretion is expressed in the Constitution of the United States in these simple words: "New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union." In the exercise of this high prerogative, perhaps the most morally grand of any which our current history exhibits, the Congress has the right and it is its duty, to look with the utmost scrutiny and caution upon every fact, circumstance, and condition which bears upon the prudence, fitness, and propriety of the permanent relations it is about to establish between the new comer into the Confederacy and the old; and if there be any time and any act which, above all others, should demand the exercise of the utmost good faith, forbearance, and honesty, it is this. I do not hesitate to declare that, if new States are to be precipitated into this Confederacy contrary to the consent of a material portion of the old ones, and above all, with constitutions contrary to the asserted will of a material portion of the citizens of such new State, then are the sappers and miners at work beneath the foundations of the Republic, and the enemy to its perpetuation has entered within its walls.

Mr. Chairman, if we could for a moment relieve ourselves of all party bias and excitement, we should find the facts pertaining to the Kansas question to be few and simple. A portion of its people are in favor of a Constitution with slavery; another portion is in favor of a Constitution without it. For years they have been waging a disreputable contest, disturbing the quiet and repose of the Union, and seeking political advantage of each other. Both of these parties

have made themselves a Constitution—one at Topeka, relying for its support upon your naked doctrine of Popular Sovereignty; the other at Lecompton, relying upon popular sovereignty, endorsed by Legislative Intervention without congressional sanction. The latter is much the best, I think of the two, but both bad. Each party has endeavored, as far as possible, to ignore the other and to refrain from a recognition of the legal validity of its acts. The free State party believed it was outraged and trodden down by an invasion from Missouri, which gave despotic character to the Legislature, inasmuch as it was elected, not by the people of the Territory but by alleged invaders, and hence, thereafter, it was stained from participating in elections authorized by this Legislature. Whilst the slave State party denied the extent of the force and violence charged by their opponents, and justified themselves by the charge that emigrant aid societies had thrown upon Kansas, for the purpose of controlling its domestic institutions, a population as spurious as any introduced from adjacent States.

Thus waged the war, until delegates were authorized to be chosen by the Territorial Legislature to form a Constitution preparatory to the admission of Kansas into the Union. From this point onward we have a right, and it is our duty, to look, in order to ascertain what it is proper for us to do. Delegates under the law were to be appointed among the thirty-four counties of the Territory according to their population, to be ascertained by a census directed to be taken. This was fair and right, and ought to have been done; but, if we may believe the very highest authorities on this subject, it was not done, and by reason of the failure nearly one-half of the counties of the Territory were denied any representation in the convention that formed the Constitution under which they were to live. Hear what Gov. Walker and Secretary Stanton say on this subject—Gov. Walker, in his letter to Gen. Cass, of the 15th Dec., 1857, says:

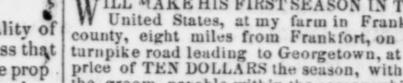
"In nineteen of these counties there was no census, and therefore there could be no such apportionment of delegates based upon such census; and in fifteen of these counties there were no registered voters. These fifteen counties, including some of the oldest organized counties of the Territory, were entirely disfranchised, and did not give, and (by no fault of their own) could not give, a solitary vote for delegates to the convention."

"In ten counties out of thirty-four there was no registration; and not a solitary vote was given or could be given for delegates to the convention in any of these counties."

Governor Stanton, in corroboration of this statement, in his address to the people of the United States, says:

"The registration required by law had been imperfect in all the counties, and had been wholly omitted in one-half of them; nor could the people of these disfranchised counties vote in any adjacent county, as has been falsely suggested."

I could multiply proofs on this subject, but it is unnecessary. These are sufficient, except to those determined not to believe. It is true that many of the free State party refused to vote for delegates to form the Constitution. They professed to believe, and perhaps did believe, they would be debarred out of their votes by their opponents, who had complete control of all the machinery by which the elections were to be conducted; and they were unwilling, as before stated, by voting at an election authorized by what they denominated the Bogus Legislature, to recognize the validity of its acts. I am not their advocate or defender. I think in all this they did wrong; and the other side were wrong in not taking the census and registration as far as practicable, to give to all the right and an unquestionable American privilege of being represented in the body which was to ordain their highest law. The free State party in some of the counties made an attempt to elect delegates to the convention, notwithstanding the failure of the election that formed the Constitution under which they were to live. Hear what Gov. Walker and Secretary Stanton say on this subject—Gov. Walker, in his letter to Gen. Cass, of the 8th of June, 1857, and published in the Topeka *Statesman* of that date:

"WILL MAKE HIS FIRST SEASON IN THE  UNITED STATES, at my farm in Franklin county, eight miles from Frankfort, on the turnpike leading to Georgetown, at the very low price of TEN MILLION DOLLARS, for the sum of five cents to the groan, payable within the season when he has commenced, and will expire on the 1st of July.

I will furnish pasture gratis to mares from a distance, without being responsible for accidents or expenses.

Mr. Peyton. I shall answer your question fairly and properly.

Mr. Underwood. I know you will.

Mr. Peyton. The remark which I made in regard to the 9,600 votes was for the purpose of calling my colleague's attention to this fact, that out of the 10,250 votes polled on the 4th of January, 9,600 votes were polled in registered counties where 6,000 votes had been polled in favor of the Lecompton Constitution.

Mr. Underwood. I only asked you your opinion, whether you believe the Lecompton Constitution was the will and voice of the majority of the people of Kansas, and whether the votes in its favor were fraudulent or not?

Mr. Peyton. That is my opinion. I frankly tell you now that I do not know who has the majority. The lie received is sufficient to satisfy me that the contest is a close one, and I have no idea that the anti Lecomptonites have such an overwhelming majority as they claim.

Mr. Underwood. While my friend may thus remain in doubt, the authentic documents produced before the Congress of the United States, and which have been heretofore adverted to by many a speaker, satisfy my mind and remove all doubt as to what the will of the people of Kansas is in respect to that Constitution; and that is, that they are pre-eminently against the Lecompton Constitution.

Thus stand the facts; and the naked question is, shall we admit Kansas into the Union at the instance and request of 2,937 of her people, or shall we not admit her at the like instance and request of 10,226. If figures could decide it, it seems to me easy of solution. If the sublime truths which underlie the American republics, whereby majorities govern in their organic laws, it seems to me the question is easy of solution.—But we are told that the vote on the 4th of January came too late. Too late for what? Too late to tell us what the people of Kansas will?

Mr. Underwood. I know you will.

Mr. Peyton. The remark which I made in regard to the 9,600 votes was for the purpose of calling my colleague's attention to this fact, that out of the 10,250 votes polled on the 4th of January, 9,600 votes were polled in registered counties where 6,000 votes had been polled in favor of the Lecompton Constitution.

Mr. Underwood. I only asked you your opinion, whether you believe the Lecompton Constitution was the will and voice of the majority of the people of Kansas, and whether the votes in its favor were fraudulent or not?

Mr. Peyton. That is my opinion. I frankly tell you now that I do not know who has the majority. The lie received is sufficient to satisfy me that the contest is a close one, and I have no idea that the anti Lecomptonites have such an overwhelming majority as they claim.

Mr. Underwood. While my friend may thus remain in doubt, the authentic documents produced before the Congress of the United States, and which have been heretofore adverted to by many a speaker, satisfy my mind and remove all doubt as to what the will of the people of Kansas is in respect to that Constitution; and that is, that they are pre-eminently against the Lecompton Constitution.

Thus stand the facts; and the naked question is, shall we admit Kansas into the Union at the instance and request of 2,937 of her people, or shall we not admit her at the like instance and request of 10,226. If figures could decide it, it seems to me easy of solution. If the sublime truths which underlie the American republics, whereby majorities govern in their organic laws, it seems to me the question is easy of solution.—But we are told that the vote on the 4th of January came too late. Too late for what? Too late to tell us what the people of Kansas will?

Mr. Underwood. I know you will.

Mr. Peyton. The remark which I made in regard to the 9,600 votes was for the purpose of calling my colleague's attention to this fact, that out of the 10,250 votes polled on the 4th of January, 9,600 votes were polled in registered counties where 6,000 votes had been polled in favor of the Lecompton Constitution.

Mr. Underwood. I only asked you your opinion, whether you believe the Lecompton Constitution was the will and voice of the majority of the people of Kansas, and whether the votes in its favor were fraudulent or not?

Mr. Peyton. That is my opinion. I frankly tell you now that I do not know who has the majority. The lie received is sufficient to satisfy me that the contest is a close one, and I have no idea that the anti Lecomptonites have such an overwhelming majority as they claim.

Mr. Underwood. While my friend may thus remain in doubt, the authentic documents produced before the Congress of the United States, and which have been heretofore adverted to by many a speaker, satisfy my mind and remove all doubt as to what the will of the people of Kansas is in respect to that Constitution; and that is, that they are pre-eminently against the Lecompton Constitution.

Thus stand the facts; and the naked question is, shall we admit Kansas into the Union at the instance and request of 2,937 of her people, or shall we not admit her at the like instance and request of 10,226. If figures could decide it, it seems to me easy of solution. If the sublime truths which underlie the American republics, whereby majorities govern in their organic laws, it seems to me the question is easy of solution.—But we are told that the vote on the 4th of January came too late. Too late for what? Too late to tell us what the people of Kansas will?

Mr. Underwood. I know you will.

Mr. Peyton. The remark which I made in regard to the 9,600 votes was for the purpose of calling my colleague's attention to this fact, that out of the 10,250 votes polled on the 4th of January, 9,600 votes were polled in registered counties where 6,000 votes had been polled in favor of the Lecompton Constitution.

Mr. Underwood. I only asked you your opinion, whether you believe the Lecompton Constitution was the will and voice of the majority of the people of Kansas, and whether the votes in its favor were fraudulent or not?

Mr. Peyton. That is my opinion. I frankly tell you now that I do not know who has the majority. The lie received is sufficient to satisfy me that the contest is a close one, and I have no idea that the anti Lecomptonites have such an overwhelming majority as they claim.

Mr. Underwood. While my friend may thus remain in doubt, the authentic documents produced before the Congress of the United States, and which have been heretofore adverted to by many a speaker, satisfy my mind and remove all doubt as to what the will of the people of Kansas is in respect to that Constitution; and that is, that they are pre-eminently against the Lecompton Constitution.

Thus stand the facts; and the naked question is, shall we admit Kansas into the Union at the instance and request of 2,937 of her people, or shall we not admit her at the like instance and request of 10,226. If figures could decide it, it seems to me easy of solution. If the sublime truths which underlie the American republics, whereby majorities govern in their organic laws, it seems to me the question is easy of solution.—But we are told that the vote on the 4th of January came too late. Too late for what? Too late to tell us what the people of Kansas will?

Mr. Underwood. I know you will.

Mr. Peyton. The remark which I made in regard to the 9,600 votes was for the purpose of calling my colleague's attention to this fact, that out of the 10,250 votes polled on the 4th of January, 9,600 votes were polled in registered counties where 6,000 votes had been polled in favor of the Lecompton Constitution.

Mr. Underwood. I only asked you your opinion, whether you believe the Lecompton Constitution was the will and voice of the majority of the people of Kansas, and whether the votes in its favor were fraudulent or not?

Mr. Peyton. That is my opinion. I frankly tell you now that I do not know who has the majority. The lie received is sufficient to satisfy me that the contest is a close one, and I have no idea that the anti Lecomptonites have such an overwhelming majority as they claim.

Mr. Underwood. While my friend may thus remain in doubt, the authentic documents produced before the Congress of the United States, and which have been heretofore adverted to by many a speaker, satisfy my mind and remove all doubt as to what the will of the people of Kansas is in respect to that Constitution; and that is, that they are pre-eminently against the Lecompton Constitution.

Thus stand the facts; and the naked question is,

shall we admit Kansas into the Union at the instance and request of 2,937 of her people, or shall we not admit her at the like instance and request of 10,226. If figures could decide it, it seems to me easy of solution. If the sublime truths which underlie the American republics, whereby majorities govern in their organic laws, it seems to me the question is easy of solution.—But we are told that the vote on the 4th of January came too late. Too late for what? Too late to tell us what the people of Kansas will?

Mr. Underwood. I know you will.

Mr. Peyton. The remark which I made in regard to the 9,600 votes was for the purpose of calling my colleague's attention to this fact, that out of the 10,250 votes polled on the 4th of January, 9,600 votes were polled in registered counties where 6,000 votes had been polled in favor of the Lecompton Constitution.

Mr. Underwood. I only asked you your opinion, whether you believe the Lecompton Constitution was the will and voice of the majority of the people of Kansas, and whether the votes in its favor were fraudulent or not?

Mr. Peyton. That is my opinion. I frankly tell you now that I do not know who has the majority. The lie received is sufficient to satisfy me that the contest is a close one, and I have no idea that the anti Lecomptonites have such an overwhelming majority as they claim.

Mr. Underwood. While my friend may thus remain in doubt, the authentic documents produced before the Congress of the United States, and which have been heretofore adverted to by many a speaker, satisfy my mind and remove all doubt as to what the will of the people of Kansas is in respect to that Constitution; and that is, that they are pre-eminently against the Lecompton Constitution.

Thus stand the facts; and the naked question is,

shall we admit Kansas into the Union at the instance and request of 2,937 of her people, or shall we not admit her at the like instance and request of 10,226. If figures could decide it, it seems to me easy of solution. If the sublime truths which underlie the American republics, whereby majorities govern in their organic laws, it seems to me the question is easy of solution.—But we are told that the vote on the 4th of January came too late. Too late for what? Too late to tell us what the people of Kansas will?

Mr. Underwood. I know you will.

Mr. Peyton. The remark which I made in regard to the 9,600 votes was for the purpose of calling my colleague's attention to this fact, that out of the 10,250 votes polled on the 4th of January, 9,600 votes were polled in registered counties where 6,000 votes had been polled in favor of the Lecompton Constitution.

Mr. Underwood. I only asked you your opinion, whether you believe the Lecompton Constitution was the will and voice of the majority of the people of Kansas, and whether the votes in its favor were fraudulent or not?

Mr. Peyton. That is my opinion. I frankly tell you now that I do not know who has the majority. The lie received is sufficient to satisfy me that the contest is a close one, and I have no idea that the anti Lecomptonites have such an overwhelming majority as they claim.

Mr. Underwood. While my friend may thus remain in doubt, the authentic documents produced

THE COMMONWEALTH.
FRANKFORT.
THOMAS M. GREEN, Editor.
FRIDAY, APRIL 16, 1858.

FOR CLERK OF THE COURT OF APPEALS,
GEORGE R. MCKEE,

OF PULASKI COUNTY.

Do Not Forget!

That the different Councils of Franklin County are expected to meet at such times as they may severally find convenient, so as to appoint delegates to attend at the Court House in Frankfort on the 3d Monday in April (County Court day,) to select candidates of the *American Party* for the following offices: *County Judge, County Court Clerk, Sheriff, County Attorney Assessor, Coroner, Surveyor and Jailer.*

We understand that the young ladies of Frankfort, intend presenting the *Sayre Guards* with a flag on-to-morrow evening at 3 o'clock.—The flag will be presented from the steps of the State House.

We have thought that it might be at once instructive and amusing to take up the different arguments used by Lecompton Democrats, one by one, and show their inconsistencies with each other, and their utter worthlessness considered by themselves. This we have already done to some extent, but we propose again to bring them up in brief review, and let the country see them all together, and estimate their value. Here in Kentucky we constantly hear it stated that the admission of Kansas, with the Lecompton Constitution, is a great Southern measure, and as often listen to the stale and false charge that those who oppose it are leagued with Abolitionists, if, indeed, they are not Abolitionists themselves. Southern Democratic papers declare that it is a sectional question, and denounce Southern Americans, not for having done wrong, but for having opposed their section. But the Richmond South, whose Democracy and attachment to the interests of the South cannot be disputed, says that the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution, according to the recommendations of Mr. Buchanan, "will give the shell to the South and the oyster to the North." In its issue of March 24th the *South* says:

"Mark you, this principle which the South is so anxious to have affirmed is not that *new slave States shall be admitted into the Union*; it amounts simply to the recognition of the poor fact that the North may generously condescend that a *State with a slave Constitution*, but *inevitably an Abolition State*, with the power of its Government placed in the hands of a party to abolitionize it on the instant, may, under such peculiar circumstances, be admitted into the Union." Is this "principle worth anything to the South?" * * *

The practical consequence of the rejection of Kansas may not be so disastrous after all; it may even be an acceptable event to the South.

The North Carolina *Observer*, (Democratic,) March 29th, says:

The Southern members had, however, so fully committed themselves to the measure, under a deceitful pretense that it was a Southern measure, that we suppose they could not well turn about the instant that they discovered the crowning fraud. The South is most egregiously cheated in the whole affair. They get the shadow, while the North gets the substance.

The Washington *Union*, the recognized organ of the Administration, from which the Kentucky Democratic papers take their cue in denouncing Southern Americans, has time and again declared the question to be purely a party issue and not at all sectional; since in no event could any advantage to the South possibly be gained. The President himself recommends the admission of Kansas as the shortest way of making a slave Territory a free State. In his special message on Kansas, he says:

"It has been solemnly adjudged by the highest judicial tribunal that slavery exists in Kansas by virtue of the Constitution of the United States. Kansas is therefore at this moment as much a slave State as Georgia or South Carolina. * * * Slavery can therefore never be prohibited in Kansas except through the means of a constitutional provision; and in no other manner can this be obtained so promptly, if the majority of the people desire it, [in his first message he admits that the majority do desire it,] as by admitting her into the Union under her present Constitution."

Again, Mr. Buchanan says:

"The majority of them desire to abolish domestic slavery within the State there is no other possible mode by which it can be effected so speedily as by its prompt admission."

This is the message which was endorsed by the Southern Democracy, and it is not denied that an overwhelming majority of the people of Kansas are opposed to slavery. The Southern men admit it by their unwillingness to submit the question to the people of Kansas, and the Northern Abolitionists are so fully convinced of it that they are willing to desert their long cherished doctrine of Congressional interference and submit the question of slavery entirely to the people of Kansas. It is not denied that the Legislature of Kansas and State officers are free State men, and that the Congressman elected is a Republican; nor that two Abolitionists will be sent to the Senate as soon as Kansas is admitted under the Lecompton Constitution. With these facts and with such excellent Democratic authority before us, we ask in what is the admission of Kansas, under the Lecompton Constitution, a Southern measure? What will the South gain by it? What will she not lose?

Another of the untenable positions assumed by the Lecomptonites is, that an enabling act is not necessary to the admission of a State, but whenever the Territorial Legislature sees fit it can call a Convention to frame a State Constitution, and that Congress is constitutionally obliged to admit the Territory into the Union under that Constitution, provided it be republican in form. We do not propose to enter upon any lengthy discussion of this question, but will content ourselves with citing some high Democratic authorities upon the subject. In the case of Michigan this exact question arose, and during the debate that distinguished expositor of Democracy, Mr. Buchanan, said:

"We have pursued this course [that is to disregard formalities] in regard to Tennessee, to Arkansas, and even to Michigan. No Senator will pretend that their Territorial Legislatures had any right whatever to pass laws enabling the people to elect delegates to a convention for the purpose of forming a State Constitution. It was an act of usurpation on their part."

We presume that we will hardly be accused by ultra-Democrats of Federal proclivities for agreeing

ing with John C. Calhoun upon the same subject. That gentleman, during the same debate, said:

"My opinion was, and still is, that the movement of the people of Michigan in forming for themselves a State Constitution, without waiting for the assent of Congress, was revolutionary."

Here is his reason for thinking it revolutionary:

"As it threw off the authority of the United States over the Territory."

He proceeds to say:

"And that we are left at liberty to treat the proceedings as revolutionary, and to remand her to her Territorial condition."

In the case of Arkansas, during the Administration of Gen. Jackson, the question arose, how far the Territorial Legislature was competent to inaugurate the preliminary measures to cast off its Territorial existence and to prepare to assume the attitude of a State? This question having been submitted to his Attorney General, Mr. Butler, he, after arguing the subject, used the following language:

"Consequently, it is not in the power of the General Assembly of Arkansas to pass any law for the purpose of electing members to form a Constitution and State Government, nor to do any other act, directly or indirectly, to create such new government. Every such law, even though it were approved by the Governor of the Territory, would be null and void. If passed by them notwithstanding his veto, by a vote of two-thirds of each branch, it would still be equally void."

This was the ground taken by the administration of Gen. Jackson, and has never been denied until the case of Kansas arose, and some excuse for secession was sought. Any law passed by the Territorial Legislature of Kansas—which possessed no greater authority than the Territorial Legislature of Arkansas—initiating a Convention, was null and void. But we have still later authority than the above extracts. It will be remembered that the Territorial Legislature of California called a Convention to form a State Constitution; the Convention having framed a Constitution submitted it to the people, who adopted it and applied for admission as a free State. A large portion of the ultra-Southern men protested against the admission of California under that Constitution, because the *Territorial Legislature had no power to call a Convention*, and they threatened secession if Congress attempted to legalize the action of that Legislature and Convention. Fortunately Mr. Clay interposed with his Compromise measures and a disruption was avoided. On the records of the United States Senate, there is a protest against the admission of California, containing the following grounds for opposition:

The St. Louis *AMERICANS ON LECOMPTON*.—At a mass meeting of the American party, held on the 29th of March, the following resolutions were submitted and adopted by acclamation:

Resolved, That the principles of the American party preclude the support of the nominees of any sectional party.

Resolved, That we heartily approve the sentiments of the Hon. John J. Crittenden, as enunciated in the United States Senate, calculated as they are, to arouse that patriotism and love of the Union which should animate every American heart.

Resolved, That while we appreciate and admire the proud position of Mr. Crittenden; while we endorse and approve, as embodying fundamental principles of the American party, his noble and manly defence of the rights of the people, and his fervent appeal in behalf of the Union, we find language inadequate to express the contempt we feel towards that Senator from Missouri, who, scarcely warm in his seat, could sneeringly speak of the eloquent remarks of the father of the Senate as "psalm singing in praise of the Union?"

Resolved, That the American party ever has been, and ever will be, opposed to nullification, in whatever form it may assume; and that the removal of Judge Loring by Gov. Banks of Massachusetts, is a high handed, practical nullification of the laws, which should be denounced and condemned by every citizen who hopes for the perpetuity of our Government.

B. F. EDWARDS, *President*.

I. J. FOWLER, *Secretary*.

Gen. Duff Green, in a reminiscence of a column and a quarter in the *States*, asserts that Senator Ninian Edwards, of Illinois, was the originator of the Missouri Compromise, instead of Mr. Clay. Gov. Edwards was a Virginian by birth and a prominent Democrat; so that the Missouri Compromise would still have a Southern origin, and also a Democratic endorsement. He was a brother in law of Duff Green's, and therefore it is not a matter of surprise that the gentlemen should claim for a connexion the honor of having given place to the country for upwards of thirty years.

CARD WRITING.—We have seen some specimens of card writing by Mr. HENRY E. BUCK, of New York, which excel anything of the kind we have before seen. It is superior, in our opinion, to engraving, and we would advise our lady friends who wish to procure beautiful visiting cards to patronize him.

Mr. B will remain in our city during this week, and may be found at the bookstore of Messrs. Keenon & Crutcher, where orders may be filled. Mr. W. M. D. ERTHEDGE the agent of Mr. Buck will visit the residences of our citizens, exhibit specimens of his card writing and receive orders from any who wish to procure cards.

We are informed that those of our citizens who are in the habit of attending the daily union prayer meetings at the Baptist church have agreed to observe this day as day of fasting and prayer. In furtherance of this object, a general union meeting will be held in the Baptist church at 11 o'clock, at which time Rev. Mr. Garrison, of the Methodist church, will preach.

Builders and Contractors, by calling at this office, can see a plan and specifications of the church building proposed to be erected seven miles from Frankfort on the Georgetown turnpike, proposals and bids for which are invited by an advertisement in our paper.

Brevet Col. Charles A. May, Major Second Dragoons, is ordered to report at Carlisle Barracks, Pa., for the purpose of conducting the recruits at that station to their respective regiments in Utah. He is directed to make requisitions on the proper officers for all that may be necessary for his command, and strictly charged with procuring a sufficient supply of arms, ammunition, equipments, horses and horse equipment, clothing required on the march, &c., &c., and take such further measures as will enable the recruits to be fully equipped and prepared. He is, in pursuance of the above orders to him, directed to precede the recruits, in order to make all necessary preparations to insure their immediate march on their arrival at Leavenworth.

We are authorized to announce that F. P. HOLLOWAY has accepted the nomination for Clerk of the County Court of Woodford county, made by the American Convention which assembled at Versailles on the first Monday in March, 1858.

April 3, 1858—3w.

We are authorized to announce Mr. ROBERT FINNELL, as a candidate for the office of Assessor of Franklin county, subject to the decision of the American Convention.

Lord! Pray what does the *Courier* intend to do about it? How is it going to help itself? Perhaps it intends to go right straight out of this naughty Union of ours, a majority of whose Congressmen, silly fellows, won't agree to do as the *Courier* wants them to! If so, where does the *Courier* expect to go? Perhaps it intends to assist in building up that Southern monarchy which many of its Southern Democratic friends seem to bent upon. It would then have a first rate chance of establishing the public policy towards the people which its party has attempted in the case of Kansas.

We are authorized to announce WILLIAM J. STEELE, Esq., as a candidate for the office of Presiding Judge of the Woodford County Court at the ensuing August election [Jan. 20—td.]

We presume that we will hardly be accused by ultra-Democrats of Federal proclivities for agreeing

The Senate passed a bill for the admission of Kansas as a slave State under the Lecompton Constitution. The bill went to the House, and was there rejected. Instead thereof the House passed a bill known as Crittenden's substitute, and voted for by every Abolitionist, which gives the Free-soilers in Kansas another opportunity to make that Territory a free State.—*Louisville Courier*.

And for allowing the people of Kansas an opportunity of saying whether or not they desire to be admitted into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution, the Southern Americans are of course Abolitionists. The *Courier*'s objection to the Crittenden amendment is that it "allows the Free-soilers of Kansas another opportunity to make that Territory a free State." Mr. Bueban says that the shortest and easiest way of making Kansas a free State is, to admit her under the Lecompton Constitution, and therefore advises it to be done. Of course, then, Mr. Buchanan is just that much more of an Abolitionist than any man of the opposition in Congress.

HON. HUMPHREY MARSHALL'S PAIRING OFF.—It is due to Col. Marshall, says the Louisville Journal, to state the circumstances of his pairing off with Mr. Bowie, in the vote upon the Kansas bill, in the House of Representatives on Thursday last. On the Sunday before, Mr. Harris of Maryland (anti-Lecompton) was suddenly called, to Baltimore in consequence of the expectation of a death in his family. During his absence Col. Marshall induced Mr. Bowie of Maryland (Lecompton) to pair off with Harris for one week, to relieve the anxiety of Mr. Harris, notified him by telegraph of the arrangement. Mr. Harris, expecting a vote, returned on Monday at 11 o'clock, and expressing the desire to record himself, with a view to his possible action in his contested election case, Col. Marshall applied to Mr. Bowie, who declined releasing him, as he had made arrangements for his own absence. On this account Col. Marshall was obliged, in honor, to substitute himself for Harris in the arrangement that had been made.

THE ST. LOUIS AMERICANS ON LECOMPTON.—At a mass meeting of the American party, held on the 29th of March, the following resolutions were submitted and adopted by acclamation:

Resolved, That the principles of the American party preclude the support of the nominees of any sectional party.

Resolved, That we heartily approve the sentiments of the Hon. John J. Crittenden, as enunciated in the United States Senate, calculated as they are, to arouse that patriotism and love of the Union which should animate every American heart.

Resolved, That while we appreciate and admire the proud position of Mr. Crittenden; while we endorse and approve, as embodying fundamental principles of the American party, his noble and manly defence of the rights of the people, and his fervent appeal in behalf of the Union, we find language inadequate to express the contempt we feel towards that Senator from Missouri, who, scarcely warm in his seat, could sneeringly speak of the eloquent remarks of the father of the Senate as "psalm singing in praise of the Union?"

Resolved, That the American party ever has been, and ever will be, opposed to nullification, in whatever form it may assume; and that the removal of Judge Loring by Gov. Banks of Massachusetts, is a high handed, practical nullification of the laws, which should be denounced and condemned by every citizen who hopes for the perpetuity of our Government.

First.—That it gave the sanction of law, and thus imparted validity to an *unauthorized action* of a portion of the inhabitants of California.

Second.—Without any legal census, or other evidence of their possessing the number of citizens necessary to authorize the representation they may claim.

Third.—Without any of those safeguards about the ballot box, which can only be provided by law, and which are necessary to ASCERTAIN THE TRUE SENSE OF A PEOPLE.

Fourth.—As "not having sufficient evidence of its (the Constitution) having the assent of a majority of the people for whom it was signed."

The protest was signed by Senators J. M. Mason, R. M. T. Hunter, A. P. Butler, R. W. Barnwell, H. L. Turner, Pierre Soule, Jefferson Davis, R. D. Atchison, Jackson, Morton, D. L. Yuile.

Kansas recently presented herself and claimed to be admitted into the Union as a State, under a Constitution made by a Convention not authorized by Congress, and elected by only a small portion of the people of Kansas—without any census having been taken, without any legal safeguard thrown around the ballot box, and not only without evidence of its having the consent of the majority of the people for whom it was designed.

Resolved, That the American party ever has been, and ever will be, opposed to nullification, in whatever form it may assume; and that the removal of Judge Loring by Gov. Banks of Massachusetts, is a high handed, practical nullification of the laws, which should be denounced and condemned by every citizen who hopes for the perpetuity of our Government.

JOHN LEWIS, *Author of Young Kate.*

JOHN LEWIS, *Author of Young Kate.*

P. S.—The subscription papers may be sent to A. G. HODGES, "Commonwealth Office," Frankfort, Ky.

J. L.

STATEMENT OF THE CONDITION

OF THE

Farmers Union Insurance Company,

AT ATHENS, BRADFORD COUNTY, PA.,

JANUARY 1, 1857.

Cash Capital which is all paid up, \$200,000.00

Surplus in addition thereto, \$37,138.80

\$237,138.80

ASSETS.

Cash on hand and on deposit

Cash in the hands of Agents and in transit, secured by bonds with trustees

54 Bonds and Mortgages, (\$ & 7 per cent interest)

19 Bonds, security ample, (Interest 6 per cent)

Bills Receivable, viz: Promissory notes payable on demand,

Cash due from responsible parties on demand,

Interest accrued and principally due January 1st 1857,

11,045.56

\$237,138.82

LIABILITIES.

Losses adjusted and not due,

3,150.00

Losses unadjusted,

3,955.00

Losses claimed and resisted,

2,000.00

Losses reported on which no action is taken,

1,060.00

All other claims against the company are small not exceeding,

300.00

\$345.00

Whole amount of risks taken during the year,

\$1,500,000

Whole amount of property at risk at date,

